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TWENTY THIRD CONGRESS.

IN SENATE.

Monday, February 9, 1835.

EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE.

Substance of Mr. Benton's reply to Mr. Calhoun's Report.

Mr. BENTON rose to speak to some parts of the report,—to express his concurrence in some parts, his dissent to others.

He concurred in the general purport, and in the general object of the report, in showing the great increase which had taken place in a short time, in the expenditures of the government, and in the number of persons employed, of support by it. The increase was great, but not so great as had been depicted; and out of proportion to the increase of the population and wealth of the country for the same period, but not so inordinately as the report affirmed. It was the object of the report to reduce this too great expenditure, and to diminish the number of that vast multitude of persons now paid, or supported out of the Federal Treasury. In all this he concurred with the report; but he regretted, deeply and sincerely regretted, that it had not fallen within the scope of the chairman's view of his subject, to show the source and origin of these great increases; and that the blame, if any, should fall upon the true authors, and that the genius of reform should know where to apply her correcting hand.—The omission of the Chairman to show this, had laid him (Mr. B.) under the necessity of supplying the defect; and he should do so under all the disadvantages of an immediate reply to a well prepared report, which he had heard read once, and but once, in committee, before it was now read in this chamber. The report, said Mr. B., assumes for the periods of comparison the years of 1824, which was the first year of Mr. Adams' administration, and the year 1833, which was the commencement of the second term of President Jackson's Administration. It was in reality a comparison between the two last administrations and that of President Monroe, which terminated in the year which is taken for the starting point of the comparison. Confining himself to these points of time, Mr. B. would look into the origin of the principal causes of the great increase of money expended, and men employed or fed by the Federal Government within this period; and would show that the implications of the report, for direct assertion was not made, but the implications of the report, which would seem to cast censure on the present administration for these large augmentations, could have no foundation in fact, and must find their application elsewhere.

The business of internal improvement was the first head of increase which Mr. B. would mention; and that business commenced, or rather assumed its expanded and invigorated form in the year 1824—the last year of Monroe's Administration—and under whose auspices and recommendations no person could better tell than the distinguished author of the present report. Internal improvement was then, and at that early time, the inviting ocean, upon which many candidates for popular favor were seen to spread the entire surface of their distended canvass. Commenced upon national principles, and with the design of being confined to national objects, the whole system rapidly degenerated into local, or neighborhood contrivances, for the expenditure of money and the acquisitions of popularity. Before the end of Mr. Adams' four years, the downward course of the system had established the truth of the double prediction which Mr. Jefferson had made shortly before his death; it had opened the gulf which the treasures of Peru and Mexico could not fill. It had produced a scramble for money, in which the meanest got most. President Jackson found this system at that pass, with the immense augmentation of money expended, and men employed, which it necessarily involved; and the consequent increase of Executive patronage, which these augmentations implied. Far from enhancing, or even retaining this branch of patronage, he voluntarily stripped himself of it. At the risk of some danger to his temporary popularity, he stood forth to oppose the barrier of the Executive veto to the fatal current of local and neighborhood internal improvement. He endeavored to turn back the system, and to confine it to its original design, that of great national objects. So far, then, as this head increased expenditure, and increased numbers, employed by the Federal Government, has been a source of augmented patronage to the Executive Government, President Jackson is free from blame; so far as diminution of patronage has resulted from the arrestation of the fatal and ruinous

part of this system; he alone is entitled to the exclusive honor.

Revolutionary pensions, Mr. B. said, was the next source which he would point out of those augmentations which were so conspicuously depicted in the report; and here the prolific source of an immense augmentation was revealed. Forty thousand pensioners, including the invalids of the last war, started to our view; near three millions of dollars were required to pay them, and he believed in 1833, it was near four millions. Who opened this fountain of Executive patronage? this prolific source of expenditure and of revolutionary resurrection, which, at the end of half a century, is exhibiting a larger army on the pension roll than ever Washington saw, at any one time of this report with upwards of one third of his hundred thousand men, which is now making the revolution cost more money than it cost while it was existing and raging? and which has produced a demoralization of morals, and a perpetration of crimes, as revolting to the mind as it is humiliating to the country? Who produced all this? Certainly not President Jackson! but the action of Congress, under Executive recommendations, commencing at a period with which the author of this Report must be most familiar, and carried on to the year 1832, when the system of pensioning received its climax in the law of that year, and in the production of consequences which astonish and afflict the country.

The removal of the Indians was the next source of increased expenditure, and increased agents, which Mr. B. adverted to, and on this head, far from disclaiming, he claimed the merit of it almost exclusively for President Jackson. It was he who had stood forth the true friend of the Indians, and the true advocate and assertor of State Rights, in relieving the Southern States of their Indian population, at the same time that he provided for these Indians themselves, permanent, tranquil, untroubled, and far more desirable homes, in the rich and extended plains of the far West. In executing this policy, Congress acted under his recommendation; and to him the long neglected and injured South—the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and the new States of the northwest, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, are all, all indebted, for the advantages and blessings which they now enjoy in their freedom from the incubus of a useless and inimical population within their borders. The exodus of the Indians from the East to the West of the Mississippi—from the land of the white man to the land of the red man—under the guiding and protecting hand of President Jackson, has been to both parties, to the white race and to the red race, an auspicious and delightful consummation, on which Heaven has shed its benignant blessing, and which calls for the grateful emotions of every heart, white or red, civilized or savage, which can rejoice in the prosperity of the human race, and feel gratitude to its greatest and most eminent benefactor. But above all, and more than all put together, should the State of Mississippi feel that gratitude. Hard was her fate until Gen. Jackson ascended the Presidential chair. The oldest Territory in the Union, a State for almost twenty years, a delicious climate, ample boundaries, lands adapted to the production of the richest staple, noble rivers—with all these advantages, her population remained a speck in the corner of her own extended map. The Chickasaws and Choctaws occupied the finest portions of her soil, and seemed destined to occupy them forever under the abetment of a great political party, then called national republicans, now whigs, whose policy was as cruel to the Indians as it was unjust to the People, and subversive of the rights of the State. President Jackson appeared at the head of national affairs. He was the slave of no selfish, or ambitious policy, the hunter of no factitious and delusive popularity. He was the friend of the whites and of the reds; he spoke the language of truth, justice, wisdom, to both; and the long depressed and obscured State of Mississippi, finds herself, as if by magic, in the possession of all her rights, and all her soil, advancing with rapid strides to wealth and population; displaying a prodigious expansion of both, and ready, at the census of 1840, to present six or eight members on that floor of the House of Representatives, where until lately, she had but one member, and now has but two. More! The graduation principle, by treaty is adopted for the sale of the newly acquired lands, descending down through successive gradations from \$1 25, to six and a quarter cents per acre. So that this State has acquired by treaty, under the auspices of President Jackson, the justice and the boon which her elder sisters have been in vain soliciting from Congress for so many years. For all this, that noble State is indebted to President Jackson; and it is as honorable to the inhabitants of that State, as it is just and right in itself, that the throbs of gratitude beats in the hearts, and the sentiment of affectionate respect glows in the bosoms of almost the whole of her entire population.—And shall the expense of these measures, the expense of freeing not only Mississippi, but the whole south, and the entire northwest, from the incubance of an Indian population, be

now set down without explanation, in a grave Report on Executive patronage, as one of the wasteful extravagancies of the day which portends the decline and fall of the Republic, and calls for the trenchant hand of cutting reform, and the indignant verdict of public reprobation?

Closely allied to this head, that of removal of Indians was another, which Mr. B. would mention, and which was too intimately connected with that head to require the detail of explanation. It was the great acquisition of lands by the extinction of Indian titles, the fair and full price, now for the first time allowed for them, and that by an administration depicted as the destroying angel of the red race; the consequent increase of surveyors and land offices, and additional expense resulting from these wise and patriotic operations. They, too, belong to President Jackson's administration; and Mr. B. claimed the honor of them for him, instead of confounding the increased expenditure resulting from them, and the increased number of persons employed to execute them in the indiscriminate mass of extravagancies denounced.

Another subject he would mention, the great increase of the tariff of 1824, and 1828, on the eve of Presidential elections, and the complicated nature of their provisions to prevent evasions, detect smuggling, give the full benefit of their enactments to the manufacturers, and to carry out the protective principle in the living bodies of revenue officers to defend it, as well as in the ramparts of parchments, intrenching it to the teeth, which Congress was piling up around it. Here was a great source of additional expense, additional officers and agents employed, and additional patronage conferred; and which has now brought the collection of the custom-house revenue, with the diminution of the tariff, to the inordinate expense of nine per centum. But who did this? Not the administration; and therefore the remedy does not lie in the change of the administration; but Congress—Congress did it; and therefore the evil lies in the conduct of the immediate representatives of the People, and the remedy lies in the hands of the People themselves.

Mr. B. repeated; he concurred with the general purport, and the general object of the Report, in the great and striking augmentation which it presented of money expended, and men employed, or fed, by the Federal Government; and the necessity for great and real retrenchment in both particulars, especially as many of the objects for which they were incurred were temporary in their nature, and evanescent in their existence. Yes, said Mr. B., the augmentations have been great; but so far as they are of questionable propriety, they have had their root in previous administrations, some of them in the administration of Mr. Monroe, when the author of this Report was a distinguished member of that administration; others of these questionable measures had originated under Mr. Adams' administration, or in Congress itself, and under the high pressure speeches, reports, and motions of gentlemen opposed to the administration of President Jackson.—Try then, said Mr. B., examine them in detail, and you will find the great expenditures for objects of questionable propriety originated with others, while those of real expediency, of beneficial object, and clear constitutional propriety, owed their origin to the administration of President Jackson; and what should never be forgotten, it was the exercise of the veto power by President Jackson, which checked these extravagant expenditures of questionable objects, for which he received unmeasured denunciations. And let the people now mark it! This same President is now blamed just as much for not stopping, as he was blamed for stopping those wild expenditures.

But, Mr. B. said, while agreeing to much that was in the Report, and in agreeing that there was not only room, but necessity for retrenchment, it would be unjust to the people, who have no means of detecting the delusive and fallacious statements which go forth with the high sanction of the Senate's approbation, to let this Report go forth among them to startle, alarm, disquiet, and amaze them with the idea that the expenses of the Government had doubled in nine years, from 1825 to 1833. Never was a wilder proposition presented to the intelligence of a rational people, not that the quantity of money paid out in the list of those two years, and that exclusive of the public debt in both instances, was not in reality double of that of the former, but the fallacy and delusion lay in this; that those great additional payments were not for the expenses of the Government, not for ordinary, usual, current, and progressive expenditures, but for unusual, extraordinary, individual, isolated, and anomalous objects, occurring once, and but once, finished forever, when paid one time; some of them impossible, and others improbable to occur again; and, therefore, not fit to be held up among the current expenses, and progressive extravagance of the Government.

The Report, said Mr. B., assumes the years 1825 and 1833 for the comparison and contrast, which it exhibits, the expenditure of the former being eleven millions and a half, that of the latter twenty-two millions and three quarters, and both exclusive of payments on account of the public debt, and this, as the Report affirms, during a period of profound peace, when not

an event had occurred calculated to warrant any unusual expenditure. Now, said Mr. B., let us see what extraordinary expenditure fell upon that year 1833. First, there was the Black Hawk war, on the upper Mississippi, which, though the fighting was done in 1832, yet the payment fell chiefly upon the ensuing year. Under this head also there were payments in that year to near \$900,000; namely, to the militia and volunteers of Illinois, \$442,000; for their subsistence, \$186,000; for the conversion of rangers into a regiment of dragoons, \$274,000. Then there was paid for duties refunded on merchandise to importing merchants, the sum of \$701,760; then there was paid to claimants under the convention with Denmark, the sum of \$663,000; and this was money not expended, nor even paid, in the sense of payment, but merely delivered to these claimants; the Government having received it from Denmark for their use, some years ago, and now delivered it to those to whom a commission has awarded it. Then there were extraordinary Indian treaties that year for the purchase of land, for which \$735,000 were paid, and removal of Indians, and subsisting them after they got their new homes, the sum of \$368,000. But the greatest extraordinary payment of the whole year was that of revolutionary pensions, under the fatal act of 1832. That act originated in Congress and carried back its loose and wild provisions to take effect from the 4th of March, 1831. This threw the accumulated payments under that most unfortunate act, upon the year 1833, for all the remainder of the year 1832, in which the act was passed, was taken up in establishing the claims of persons to the benefit of the act. Thus the payments in 1832 were but \$355,686, while in 1833, they were ten times that sum, amounting in fact to \$3,507,484. Putting these extraordinary payments together, said Mr. B., and you have a sum of about seven millions of dollars; at once to be deducted from the general aggregate of twenty-two millions and three quarters; and he had no doubt but that a research into the whole list of extraordinary for the same year would produce a million more. Be that as it may, here is a sum of seven millions, not belonging to the current and progressive expenses of the government, carried forward to the gross amount of such expenditure, and made the means of exhibiting a duplication of the expenses of the Government in the short space of eight years. Here is the fallacy, here the delusion; and hence the injustice of basing upon this duplication a cry of such enormous extravagance as to justify revolution if we cannot get reformation. For reformation there is room; for revolution there is no pretext; and the reformer would answer the exigency, and bring down the expenses of the Government properly so called,—the expenses necessary incurred in working the machinery of the Government—to a sum much below what it would be even after deducting the seven or eight millions of extraordinary from the gross expenditure of twenty-two millions and three quarters in 1833.

To confirm his view and to show that those seven or eight millions of extraordinary ought not to be added to the ordinary expenditures of the Government, much less to be charged to its extravagance and indicting a progressive expenditure which ought to rouse an alarm the country, Mr. B. would advert to the amount of the expenditure for the whole eight years comprehended in the Report, premising that payments on account of the public debt are, in all cases excluded. The successive and annual expenditures then stand thus:

For 1823,	\$11,490,459
1826,	13,062,16
1827,	12,653,895
1828,	13,296,041
1829,	12,659,490
1830,	13,229,533
1831,	13,864,067
1832,	16,568,888
1833,	22,713,755

From this view Mr. B. said the increase of expenditure would appear not quite so frightful as this Report would represent. For the first year of the term, the increase was about a million and a half; for the next five years there was no increase of any moment, and twice there had run up to large amounts, and that by the means which he had shown; so that the sum of the Report had taken for the basis of his comparison the seven years of regular expenditure, he would have found an increase of about two millions only, instead of a duplication of eleven millions; a result which, while it would have presented nothing for reformation, would have presented nothing for revolution, or even

Precise sums are here substituted in the published speech for the general statements made in the speech when delivered. Mr. B. had heard the Report read out once in the Committee, and had not obtained, when he spoke, the precise detail of sums above enumerated. He obtained this afterwards, and produced, read and commented upon them in the Senate; and therefore it is justifiable in substituting precise sums for the general statements which he could only make, at this part, of the spoken speech.

As well might the five millions in the French Spoils Bill, which has passed the Senate and now lies in the House of Representatives, be set down, in a paper that body, also, among the Government expenditures for the year 1835, and carried forward to swell the aggregate of the year, to furnish contrasts, and excite discontent, against an extravagant administration.

for turning out the party in power, and putting in their opponents, who are the real authors of every thing which requires reform.

Having shown the fallacy of the Report in its exhibit of the extravagance of the Government, having shown its enormous error in stating that this great increase had taken place during a period of profound peace, when in fact there was an Indian war on the Upper Mississippi! and when not an event occurred to warrant unusual expenditure, when in fact seven millions of the expenditures were for objects, not only unusual, but never existing before or since! Mr. B. would say a word, and but a word, upon its correlative part, the increase of persons paid by the Government or fed by its bounty. In 1825 the whole number was 55,777, in 1833, 100,073. This said Mr. B. is almost double; but how did it happen? why from carrying the pensioners up from about 17,000, to about 40,000! adding multitudes for internal improvement, and the custom houses in consequence of the two tariffs of 1824 and 1824; requiring many persons to superintend the removal of Indians; many to survey and sell the newly acquired lands; and a whole regiment of dragoons for the defence of the Western frontier. In these items, and others, the source of the increased numbers will be found; some few of them necessary and indispensable, as that of the dragoons; some necessary and temporary, as those for removal of Indians, and Internal Improvement; some lawful, though the expediency of the law questionable, as those carrying into effect the complex provisions of the new tariff laws; some amazing, and almost incredible, as the increase of pensioners, the bare statement of whose numbers announces a fraud of stupendous magnitude, and implies a demoralization of public morals, of frightful enormity.

The dismissals from office next engaged Mr. B.'s attention. The affected moderation of language under which this topic was brought forward in the Report, and the violence with which in concluded, were particularly pointed out. Remarks of a party character were disclaimed, and the disclaimer was instantly followed by a series of the most violent and offensive remarks of a party character. The present administration was charged with having recourse to a system the practice of removing from office for opinion's sake. The assertion though veiled, and slightly made to wear the form of hypothesis, was nevertheless clear and explicit in the Report, that the honest and capable were dismissed to make room for the base and corrupt; that offices were the spoils of victory, the rewards of partisan service, and the means of substituting manworship for patriotism, encouraging virtue, preparing for the subversion of liberty and the establishment of despotism, and converting the entire body of office-holders into corrupt and supple instruments of power!! Such he said was the language of a Report which set out with a formal disclaimer of party spirit and partisan remarks. In defending the administration from such flagrant charges, Mr. B. would first discriminate between terms which had been much confounded and abused, and then show that the removals made by President Jackson, like those made by President Jefferson, were the legitimate results of the previous system of appointments, and were necessary not only to the safety and success of a democratic administration, but due as an act of justice to the great democratic party of the Union. Terms, he said, were confounded. When a man had been five, ten, twenty, forty years in office, and failed to be reappointed at the end of his second, third, fourth, or fifth term of four years, it was called a dismissal, and the cry of persecution was set up. This, Mr. B. said, might be correct phraseology with those who thought offices ought to be for life, and eventually hereditary, but it was a phraseology repudiated in the democratic school, where the doctrine of rotation was inculcated. With respect to the fact of dismissals, they resulted in general from appointments. The elder Mr. Adams appointed none but federalists; and Mr. Jefferson had to turn a portion of them out in order to get in a portion of the republicans; and Mr. Jefferson had told him, (Mr. B.) that he had never carried changes far enough; that he had not done justice to his own party. So of President Jackson; the younger Mr. Adams followed the course of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. B. said that his recommendation for any office in his own State was worth nothing during the whole administration of Mr. Adams, and the latter part of the administration of Mr. Monroe; and the State of this day contained some persons in office, his decided opponents, who were appointed under the two former administrations. Doubtless, he said, President Jackson had made some unfortunate appointments; he himself had made some unfortunate recommendations, though he had made but few; but it was incontestably true that many of those who had been dismissed, or not reappointed, were themselves prescribers of those who were in their power; dismissing not only clerks and under officers for political opinions, but mechanics, workmen, and laborers! Yes, the day laborer, when he would not prostitute his vote to the national republicans, and the Bank has been dismissed from his labor!

The unregulated state of the deposit banks was another source of Executive patronage which the report had strongly and emphatically dwelt upon. Of all the matters contained in the report, nothing, said Mr. B., except one thing, which he would mention in its proper place, had astonished him so much as this. Not that there was not increase of Executive patronage from this source, but that the President should be reproached with it in this Senate, by the author of this report, and the majority of the Committee from which it came. What is the fact? exclaimed Mr. B. Did not this Senate twice refuse, at their last session, to pass any law to regulate the deposit banks? Did not the majority of this committee twice refuse to pass a bill for that purpose? did not the author of the Report twice refuse to attempt to regulate these Banks? Are not the votes of these refusals recorded in our journals, preserved in our memories, and known to the whole body of the American People? And after that, is the Senate the place from which a reproach can come, and fearful, trembling, awful apprehensions for the safety of the Republic, can be put forth, on account of the unregulated condition of these Deposit Banks, without exciting, in the first place, a feeling of the utmost possible astonishment; and, in the next place, a feeling very different from astonishment, and of which the Senate should never aspire to make itself the object? Mr. B. would dismiss this topic with simply exciting the reminiscences, as the novel writers called it, which belonged to this occasion, and leave it to those who refused, twice refused, only nine months ago, to comply with the Executive recommendation to regulate these Banks, and now reproach him because they are not regulated, and shiver with terror at such a state of things; and would leave it to them, and a pretty little task they might find it to reconcile their conduct then with their conduct now.

The transfer drafts, said Mr. B., have claimed the attention of the Report. They are proposed to be prohibited in future, except for the bonafide purpose of transferring public moneys from one place to another, for the benefit of the public service. To this Mr. B. had no objection. He was not in favor of giving the power or the money of the Federal Government to sustain banks in future. Time was when the Government was under a violent duress to do it. Fifteen or twenty years ago, for example, when the Government was dependent on the paper system, and was obliged to support that system, to preserve its revenues. Time was also when it was not only right, but laudable in the Government to sustain the local banks; and that was at the commencement of the panic operations of the last year, when the explosion of the State banks was the criminal policy of the Bank of the United States; and the success of that policy was frustrated by the interposition of the Secretary of the Treasury, through the instrumentality of transfer drafts. But these times have gone by. They have passed away; and can never return until the Federal Government shall commit the consummate folly of creating another mammoth bank, or entangling itself in the fate of local banks by continuing to treat their notes as money, and receiving the federal revenue in time. It is hoped that this folly will not be perpetrated; that no new bank is to be created to overthrow, and to crush at its pleasure, all others; that the paper of local banks is not to be made the currency of the Federal Government, but that the Government will, and that with all convenient speed, return to the currency of the constitution, and to the first act of the first Congress that ever sanctioned the constitution, and made a provision on the subject of money, and which declared that gold and silver coin ONLY should be received in payments to the United States. For the future, then, Mr. B. was opposed to lending the aid of the Federal Government to the support of banks. If they cannot stand, let them fall. Let them blow up if they will; sky-high, if they please; high enough never to fall back to the earth! But, while concurring with the report in the future restriction upon the use of transfer drafts, he took the opportunity, most emphatically, to dissent from the censure which the report, by implication, if not in words, threw upon Mr. Taney for the use made of these drafts in the fall of 1833. He defended that use? It was to prevent the success of crime, and to compel the observance of justice! to frustrate the conspiracy of the Bank of the United States, against the local Banks, and to compel her to treat her own notes, and those of her branches, as money! The case was this: Upon the removal of the deposits, many of the branches began to refuse to receive from the deposit Banks, the notes of the other branches, or of the Mother Bank, which had been received in payment of duties, and which the deposit Banks offered to exchange, for their own. Refusing this exchange, and demanding specie from the deposit Banks for all their balances, the design of the Federal Bank was evident; it was to cripple, and crush the State Banks, destroy their currency, and upon their ruins erect the edifice of her own necessity and supremacy; and recharter, Mr. Taney interposed to prevent this crime, this ruin, and this result. He gave drafts to the deposit Banks to be used upon condition, and on condition only, that the Bank and its branches should continue to refuse to receive each others' notes, received on public account, in exchange for the notes of the deposit banks, and demand specie from them; and the exhibition of these drafts in Baltimore and in New York had the effect that was intended; it compelled the Bank of the United States and its branches to honor each

others' paper, and to desist from that part of their atrocious and diabolical plan to break the deposit Banks, and to derange the currency of the country. Mr. B. said, these were the facts which justified Mr. Taney for the use he had made of the transfer drafts; not only justified him, but exalted him to the highest praise. He recounted himself now with stating these facts; on another occasion he would prove them. He had certain remarks to make on the Report of the Finance Committee of the Senate, (Mr. Tyler's Report on the Bank,) in which this proof would find an appropriate place; and he was certain that the Senate would not deny him an opportunity of making his intended remarks. Looking at Mr. Tyler, he repeated, that the Senate would not deny him that opportunity; and Mr. Tyler was understood to say, that certainly he would not be denied.

Mr. B. came next to the proposition in the Report to amend the constitution for eight years to enable Congress to make distribution among the States, Territories, and District of Columbia, of the surplus of public money. The surplus is carefully calculated at \$9,000,000 of dollars per annum for eight years; and the rule of distribution assumed, goes to divide that sum into as many shares as there are Senators and Representatives in Congress; each State to take shares according to her representation; which the Report shows would give for each share precisely \$30,405; and then leaves it to the State itself, by a little ciphering, in multiplying the aforesaid sum of \$30,405, by the whole number of Senators and Representatives which it may have in Congress, to calculate the annual amount of the sum it would receive. This process the Report extends through a price of eight years, so that the whole sum to be divided to the States, Territories, and District of Columbia would amount to seventy-two millions of dollars.

Of all the propositions which he ever witnessed, brought forward to astonish the senses, to confound recollection, and to make him doubt the reality of a past, or a present scene, this proposition, said Mr. B., eclipses and drowns the whole! What! the Senate of the United States—no, only the same Senate, but the same members, sitting in the same chairs, looking in each others' faces, remembering what each had said only a few short months ago, now to be called upon to make an alteration in the constitution of the United States, for the purpose of dividing seventy-two millions of surplus money in the Treasury, when that same Treasury was proclaimed, affirmed, vindicated, and proved upon calculations, for the whole period of the last session, to be sinking into bankruptcy! that it would be destitute of revenue by the end of the year, and could never be replenished until the deposits were restored! the Bank rechartered! and the usurper and despot driven from the high place which he dishonored and abused! This was the cry then; the cry which resounded through this chamber for six long months, and was wafted upon every breeze to every quarter of the Republic, to alarm, agitate, disquiet, and enrage the People. The author of this report, and the whole part with which he marched under the oriflamme of the Bank of the United States, filed the Union with this cry of a bankrupt Treasury; and predicted the certain and speedy downfall of the administration, from the want of money to carry on the operations of the Government.

[Mr. CALHOUN here rose and wished to know of Mr. B. whether he meant to include him in the number of those who had predicted a deficiency in the revenue.]

Mr. B. said he would answer the gentleman by telling him an anecdote. It was the story of a drummer taken prisoner in the Low Countries, by the videttes of Marshal Saxe, under circumstances which deprived him of the protection of the laws of war. About to be shot, the poor drummer plead in his defence that he was a non-combatant; he did not fight, and kill people; he did nothing, he said but beat his drum in the rear of the line. But he answered, so much the worse; that he made other people fight, and kill one another, by driving them on with that drum of his in the rear of the line; and so he should suffer for it. Mr. B. hoped that the story would be understood, and that it would be received by the gentleman as an answer to his question, as neither in law, politics, or war was there any difference between what a man did by himself, and did by another. Be that as it may, said Mr. B. the strangeness of the scene in which we are now engaged remains the same. Last year it was a bankrupt Treasury, and a beggarly Government now it is a Treasury gorged to bursting with surplus millions, and a Government trampling down liberty, contaminating morals, bribing, and wielding vast masses of people from the unemployable funds of countless treasures. Such are the scenes which the two sessions present, and it is in vain to deny it, for the fatal speeches of that fatal session have gone forth to all the borders of the Republic. They were printed here by the myrice; franked by

Mr. B. in a subsequent speech, told an amusing anecdote to the Senate, of the blunder into which a member of the Senate, in the distribution of the session, had fallen. The first time that Mr. B. saw the member, after the report was read, he was violently for it, and would not let any Senator, or Representative, should speak of it. The next time he saw him he was indignant, and even attempted to stop the Report. Mr. B. desired to know the reason of this sudden change; and was answered that thus: When the member first heard the Report read, he understood those \$30,405 annually, to be intended for the members themselves; but he now saw that every member would have to divide with his constituents, and he had 40,000 in his district; so that it reduced the thing to nothing; he would get but four shillings and six pence, Virginia money; and then he swore that he would not change the constitution of the United States for four shillings and six pence, Virginia money.

members by the ton weight; freighted to all parts by a devoted and overwhelming Post Office; and paid for! paid for! by whom? Thanks for one thing at least! The Report of the Finance Committee on the Bank (Mr. Tyler's Report) effected the exhumation of one mass of hidden and buried putridity; it was the printing account of the Bank of the United States for that session of Congress which will long live in the history of our country under the odious appellation of the PANIC-session. That printing account has been dug up; it is the black vomit of the Bank! and he knew the medicine which could bring forth such vomits from the foul stomach of the old red harlot. It was the medicine of a Committee of Investigation, constituted upon parliamentary principles; a committee composed, in its majority, of those who charged misconduct, and evinced a disposition to prove every charge to the bottom; such a committee as the Senate had appointed, at the same session, not for the Bank! but for the Post Office.

Yes, exclaimed Mr. B., not only the Treasury was to be bankrupt, but the currency was to be ruined. There was to be no money. The trash in the Treasury, what little there was, was to be nothing but depreciated paper, the vile issue of insolvent pet banks. Silver, and United States Bank notes, and even good bills of exchange, were all to go off, all to take leave, and make their mournful exit together; and gold! that was a trick unworthy of countenance; a gull to lambstoeze the simple, and to insult the intelligent, until the fall elections were over. Ruin, ruin, ruin to the currency, was the lugubrious cry of the day, and the sorrowful burden of the speech for six long months. Now, on the contrary, it seems to be admitted that there is to be money, real good money in the Treasury, such as the fiercest haters of the pet banks would wish to have and that not a little, since 72 millions of surpluses are proposed to be drawn from that same empty Treasury in the brief space of eight years. Not a word about ruined currency now. Not a word about the currency itself. The very word seems to be dropped from the vocabulary of gentlemen. All lips closed tight, all tongues hushed still, all allusion avoided, to that once dear phrase.—The silver currency doubled in a year; four millions of gold coined in half a year; exchanges reduced to the lowest and most uniform rates; the whole expenses of Congress paid in gold; working people receiving gold and silver for their ordinary wages; such are the results which have confounded the prophets of woe, silenced the tongue of lamentation, expelled the word CURRENCY from our debates; and brought the People to question, if it cannot bring themselves to doubt, the future infallibility of those undaunted alarmists who still go forward with new and confident predictions, notwithstanding they have been so recently and so conspicuously deceived in their valuations of a ruined currency, a bankrupt Treasury, and a beggarly government.

But there we are, said Mr. B., actually engaged in a serious proposition to alter the constitution of the United States for the period of eight years, in order to get rid of surplus revenue; and a most dazzling, seductive, and fascinating scheme is presented; no less than nine millions a year for eight consecutive years. It took like wild fire, Mr. B. said, and he had seen a member,—no, that might seem too particular,—he had seen a gentleman who looked upon it as establishing a new era in the affairs of our America, establishing a new test for the formation of parties, bringing a new question into all our elections, State and Federal, and operating the political salvation, and elevation of all who supported it, and the immediate, utter, and irrevocable political damnation of all who opposed it. But Mr. B. dissented from the novelty of the scheme. It was an old acquaintance of his, only new ramped and new furnished, for the present occasion. It is the same proposition, only to be accomplished in a different way, which was brought forward some years ago by a Senator from New Jersey, (Mr. Dickerson,) and which then received unhesitating condemnation, not merely for unconstitutionality, but for all its effects and consequences; the degradations of mendicant States, receiving their annual allowance from the bounty of the Federal Government; the debauchment of the public morals, when every citizen was to look to the federal treasury for money, and every candidate for office was to outbid his competition in offering it; the consolidation of the States, thus resulting from a central supply of revenue; the folly of collecting with one hand, to pay back with the other, and both lands to be grieved at the expense of the citizen who pays one man to collect the money from him, and another to bring it back to him, minus the interest and the cost of a double operation in fetching and carrying; and the eventual and inevitable progress of the scheme to the plunder of the weaker half of the Union by the stronger; when the stronger half would undoubtedly throw the whole burden of raising the money upon the weaker half, and then take the main portion to themselves. Such were the main objections uttered against this plan seven years ago, when a gallant son of South Carolina, (General Hayne,) stood by his side,—no, not before him, and led him in the fight against that fatal and delusive scheme, now brought forward under a more seductive, dangerous, alarming, inexcusable, unjustifiable and demoralizing form.

Yes, said Mr. B. it is not only the revival of the same plan for dividing surplus revenue, which received its condemnation on this floor seven or eight years ago, but it is the modification, and that in a form infinitely worse for the new States, of the famous land bill which now lies upon our table. It takes up the objection of that bill, and runs away with it, giving nine millions where that gave three, and leaving the author of that bill out of sight behind; and can the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) be so short-sighted as not to see that somebody will play him the same prank, and come forward with propositions to raise and divide twenty, thirty, forty millions; and thus out-leap, out-jump, and out-run him in the race of popularity, just as far as he himself has now out-jumped, out-leaped, and out-run, the author of the Land Distribution Bill?

Yes, said Mr. B. this scheme for dividing surplus revenue is an old acquaintance on this floor; but never did it come upon this floor at a time so inauspicious,—under a form so questionable,—and upon assumptions so unfounded in fact, so delusive in argument. He would speak of the inauspiciousness of the time hereafter; at present he would take positions in direct contradiction to all the arguments of fact and reason upon which this monstrous scheme of distribution is erected and defended. Condensed into their essence, these arguments are:

1. That there will be a surplus of nine millions annually for eight years.
2. That there is no way to reduce the revenue.
3. That there is no object of general utility to which these surpluses can be applied.
4. That distribution is the only way to carry them off without poisoning and corrupting the whole body politic.

Mr. B. disputed the whole of these propositions, and would undertake to show each to be unfounded and erroneous.

1. The report says that the surplus will probably equal, on the average, for the next eight years, the sum of \$9,000,000 beyond the just wants of the government; and in a subsequent part, it says, supposing the surplus to be distributed should average nine millions of dollars, annually, as estimated, it would give to each share 30,405 dollars, which multiplied by the Senators and Representatives of any State, would show the sum to which it would be entitled. The amendment which has been reported to carry this distribution into effect, is to take effect for the year 1835,—the present year,—and to continue till the first day of Jan. 1843; of course it is inclusive of 1842, and makes a period of eight years for the distribution to go on. The amendment contains a blank which is to be filled up with the sum which is to be left in the treasury every year to meet contingent and unexpected demand; and the report shows that this blank is to be filled with the sum of two millions of dollars. Here then is the totality of these surpluses, eleven millions a year for eight consecutive years, out of which nine millions are to be taken annually for distribution. Now nine times eight are seventy-two, so that here is a report setting forth the enormous sum of \$72,000,000 of mere surplus, after satisfying all the just wants of the Government, and leaving two millions in the Treasury, to be held up for distribution, and to excite the people to clamor for their shares of such a great and dazzling prize. At the same time, Mr. B. said, there would be no such surplus. It was a delusive bait held out to whet the appetite of the people for the spoils of their country, and could never be realized even if the amendment for authorizing the distribution should now pass. The seventy-two millions could never be found; they would exist no where but in this report, in the author's imagination, and in the deluded hopes of an excited community. The seventy-two millions could never be found; they would turn out to be the "fellows in Kendal green and buckram suits," which figured so largely in the imagination of Sir John Falstaff—the two-and-fifty men in buckram, which the valiant old knight received upon his point thus! (extending a pencil in the attitude of defence.) The calculations of the author of the report where wild, delusive, astonishing, incredible. He (Mr. B.) could not limit himself to the epithet wild, for it was a clear case of hallucination.

*Page 22.
*Page 22.
[To be concluded in our next.]

CONGRESS.

In Senate, on Monday, Mr. Ruggles of Maine, presented several resolutions of the Legislature of Maine against the U. S. Bank, which were laid on the table.

The motion to procure for each member a copy of Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates, was lost by the casting vote of the Vice President.

The bill making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses of 1835, was passed after being amended by striking out the outfit and salary of the Minister to Great Britain, unless the consent of the Senate should be first had and obtained to the appointment.

The bill concerning the distribution of the Spanish fund was passed. It makes provision to refer the matter to the Attorney General, instead of appointing commissioners, and to limit the term of his decision to 18 months.

In this shape the bill was passed.

A motion to suspend the joint rule, which prohibits sending bills to the President on the last day of the session, was adopted.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Polk, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported the Senate bill regulating the Deposits of Public Money in the Local Banks, with amendments. Committed to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

After some other business of minor interest, the House went into Committee on the subject of our relations with France. The subject continued to be discussed the whole day and

evening, and was not decided when the Washington papers of Tuesday were put to press.

The protracted debate on French Relations was brought to a close on Monday evening. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, the treaty of the 4th of July, 1831, should be maintained, and its execution insisted on.

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be discharged from further consideration of so much of the President's Message as relates to commercial restrictions, or to reprisals on the commerce of France.

Resolved, That preparation ought to be made to meet any emergency growing out of our relations with France.

In the House on Tuesday, March 3, the appropriation bill for the civil and diplomatic expenses of 1835, was taken up, and the amendment of the Senate relative to the salary and outfit of the Minister to Great Britain was disagreed to.

Mr. Adams, while the subject was under discussion, made some remarks, in which the aspiring Senate was treated somewhat cavalierly.

Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, said, he called the attention of the House to this subject when the bill was before it. He had, however submitted no motion in regard to it. It had now become a matter of more importance, that a Minister should be sent to England. If our Minister should be recalled from France, and our negotiations suspended, it was proper that we should have a Minister in the neighborhood. This amendment ought not to be sanctioned. In the first place, it was an attempt at dictation to the President, which was inconsistent with the constitution. In the second place, it made the appointment of a Minister dependent upon a special call of the Senate. He did not agree that the President had not the power, under the constitution, to appoint a Minister in the recess.

A message was received from the Senate, announcing that that body insisted upon their amendments to the General Appropriation Bill, and had appointed a Committee of conference.

A committee of conference was appointed on the part of the House, and after meeting the Committee of the Senate, reported that the Committee had unanimously agreed to recommend to the House to recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, making appropriations for the salary of a Minister to Great Britain, and Secretary of Legation, and that the salary of a Minister to Great Britain be stricken out. This branch of the Report was concurred in by the House, as also the recommendation that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate, making appropriation to Samuel Slater, and to Gales & Seaton, for printing Congressional Documents, and making an appropriation for printing 5,000 copies of the Report of the Committee on the West Point Academy.

The joint Committee of Conference further recommended that the Senate recede from their amendments in relation to land claims in Missouri, and an appropriation for a road in Alabama.

The bill to establish branches of the Mint of the United States was then read a third time, and passed by a vote of yeas 114, nays 59.

The fortification bill was lost, the Senate insisting on its amendments, and when the fact was reported to the House, at the hour of 12, a quorum was not present.

The bill making appropriation for light-boats, buoys, monuments, &c. was taken up.

The amendments of the Senate, (which had been agreed to in committee,) were concurred in.

Mr. E. Whittlesey submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be presented to the Hon. John Bell, for the able, impartial, and dignified manner in which he presided over its deliberations, and performed the arduous and important duties of the Chair.

Mr. Speaker Bell, then rose, and after delivering an appropriate valedictory address, adjourned the House, (at 3 o'clock, A. M.) without day.—Argus.

In the Senate, on the evening of the 3d inst. after the election of Mr. Tyler as President pro tem., the bill making appropriation in aid of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, was under consideration. The amendment to insert \$300,000 was advocated by Kent and Mr. Clay, and opposed by Mr. Black and Mr. Wright. It was rejected, 16 to 29. Mr. Shepley spoke in opposition to the bill, and Messrs. Clay and Linn in favor, after which it was laid on the table.

A message was received from the President, returning the bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to compromise the claims upon the indemnity to be paid by the King of the Two Sicilies, with his objections. The message was read, and on motion of Mr. Clay, laid on the table.

The Senate took up the fortification Bill, which was returned by the House, and the amendment of the House placing three millions at the disposal of the President, to be used under his directions, in augmenting the army and navy, and repairing the fortifications of the U. States, so as to put the country in a posture of defence, in case there shall be necessity for it before the next meeting of Congress, was taken up, when

Mr. Webster moved that the Senate adhere to their disagreeing vote, and asked the yeas and nays upon the question, which were ordered.—Yeas 29, Nays 17.

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OXFORD DEMOCRAT.

PARIS, MARCH 17, 1835.

We present our readers with some extracts of the closing scenes of Congress. They appear to have broken up in "most admired disorder." The Senate who have arrogated to themselves the credit of defending the constitution, and under this pre-ence have cloaked the most daring ambition and usurped the most unheard of powers, have maintained their character to the last, attempting to control the President, the House of Representatives, and even the people themselves. To thwart or embarrass the present administration appears to be the leading object of the majority of this body, and to effect this object they appear to be perfectly regardless of the means they may use, or the injurious results that may flow to the country from the measures they adopt or reject. Many Bills of the utmost importance have been retained by them until so late an hour that the House had no reasonable opportunity for their examination, and were compelled to reject them, or to pass them blindfolded and ignorant of their bearings. Other Bills that had passed the House some weeks since, were kept back and important amendments introduced, essentially changing the character of the bills, and then sent back to the House at midnight of the last day of its session, to be passed or rejected without an examination. And yet, we are gravely told that the Senate are not to blame—that they have done their duty, and passed the necessary Bills, but that they were lost by the refusal of the House to sanction their decrees and to adopt their amendments unexamined and unquestioned. They seem to imagine that because certain bills were passed by the Senate, and not acted on by the House, that therefore the people will conclude that the Senate has done its whole duty, and that all the fault rests with the House. It is no new or surprising thing that these gentlemen should underrate the intelligence of the people or find themselves sadly deceived in the estimate which they put upon the sagacity of those whom they consider unfit to meddle with public affairs. The people will look at the whole subject, and will not fail to perceive that the doings of the Senate in keeping back these bills was either to prevent their passage or to clog them with such amendments as would render them nugatory. The House inserted in the appropriation Bill a provision for putting in repair our forts arsenals, &c. If circumstances should seem to require it. This the Senate refused to sanction and preferred exposing the country to insult and injury rather than manifest any confidence in the present administration. In short, the fury and recklessness of disappointed ambition was most manifestly displayed by the three unsuccessful aspirants for the Presidency and their followers, during the last part of the session. They evidently feel that their power is about departing—and knowing that the people will not sustain them in their mad career, they seem disposed to vent their spite upon the country for the purpose of thwarting the administration. Their conduct will be understood and duly appreciated.

The abuse of all the members of the administration party appears to be reduced to a regular system by the federal letter writers and most of their editors. It seems only necessary for them to know whether a man is friendly or opposed to the present administration in order to write him a dunce, an ass, or a prodigy of talents and patriotism. We believe that any man who looks at the papers of both sides, must be constrained to admit that in this respect there is a difference between the writers who are friendly and those opposed to the present administration. However severely we may condemn what we believe to be the political views of our opponents, however sincerely we may feel disposed to censure the conduct of their leaders—though we may distrust the patriotism of some and the honesty of others—we suspect the motives of many yet we may confidently assert that their talents are not underrated, nor their efforts sneered at or treated with contempt. We cheerfully concede to them the praise of eloquence, while we wish it was employed in a better cause—we acknowledge their talents, and only wish that they were devoted to the support of measures which would better promote the interest of the country. The war which we wage is against principles which we believe to be dangerous, and to expose their tendency, we are sometimes obliged to hold up to view individual examples. The wholesale abuse, the unmeasured denunciation of all who differ from us in politics, would defeat the very purpose we have in view, and cause all our statements to be received with distrust. What confidence can be placed in the assertions of those, who land to the skies the humblest member of their own party and denounce as knaves and fools all who may happen not to coincide with their political views. These remarks have been suggested by a description which one of the federal letter writers at Washington, has undertaken to give of the members of the U. S. Senate. Benton, Wright, Grundy, and other leading administration Senators are placed at an immeasurable distance below the humblest of the federalists who hold a seat at that board. Such accounts may please and deceive the ignorant, but can only excite the contempt of intelligent men of all parties.

The federalists have different meanings attached to the same words when applied to themselves or their opponents. If a democrat deserts his party and votes with the opposition on any question, he is called an independent politician, and is praised for having thrown off the collar. If a federalist sustains the administration on any subject where he believes them to be right, he is denounced as a traitor and a turn coat. Does a democrat adhere to and maintain his principles on all occasions, he is called a slave—the tool of a party—a collar man. Does a federalist pursue the same course, he is a man of principle and integrity—a consistent politician—one that can always be trusted. This is

the miserable trickery of those who claim all the virtue and decency in the country. As if a man was less a knave for belonging to their party—or could establish his patriotism by betraying his country. There is a set of men who call themselves honest politicians—who pretend that they, forsooth, are too honest to belong to any party—that they go for principles not men—that they alone do not change while all others are fluctuating. They are in fact the "cow boys" of modern times. Professing neutrality and honesty, they are always ready to sell themselves to that party which will promise most for their services, and then again to betray them for a reward. Such men will adhere to a party no longer than they are well paid. They ought to be despised and proscribed by both parties. Take away the pay from such men and they leave you. It is a most wretched policy which tolerates, much more encourages such men. They weaken the party to which they adhere. Do you ask how you shall know them? you will hear your opponents praise them as honest politicians, and independent men; you will see them anxious to retain them as spies and traitors in your camp. Our friends and opponents have each in turn suffered by placing confidence in such men, to the exclusion of those who have never wavered. Such materials are not to be relied on in times of difficulty, and they will always fail when their services are needed. The strength derived from such a source is but weakness. Let all parties then unite in proscribing these double-faced traitors, and if they reduce their numbers they will increase their strength.

From the Eastern Argus.

NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR.

The proceedings of the Democratic Legislative Convention, held on the evenings of the 25th of February and the 4th of March, will be found below. The entire unanimity with which our Democratic friends have put Robert P. Dunlap again in nomination for the gubernatorial chair, must be highly gratifying to a large majority of the people of Maine. The Democratic members of the Legislature have (in their own language) but "cordially responded to the public voice in awarding the Chief Magistracy, presented and sustained by the democracy of the State, the approval of the past confidence in the future." The resolutions relative to the administration of the general government, under the auspices of Andrew Jackson, are the unequivocal expression of the sentiments of the people of Maine. Against a fearful combination of wealth, talents, and power—against political violence of unparalleled intensity—against menaces, bribes, and actual distress—the Democracy of Maine have upheld the hands of the Chief Executive of the Union and the State, and now gather around them when the struggle is over, to "secure and perpetuate" the principles they have thus carried into power.

LEGISLATIVE CONVENTION.

The Democratic members of both branches of the Legislature of Maine, met in convention, pursuant to previous notice, at the Representatives Hall, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 25th. Mr. Tobin, of the Senate, called the Convention to order. The Hon. Josiah Pierce was chosen President, and Messrs. Cobb of New Gloucester, and Cony of Orono, Secretaries. On motion of Mr. Latham, of the Senate, a committee of five was raised to receive, sort, and count the votes for a candidate to be supported, at the coming election, for the office of Chief Magistracy of the State of Maine, which Committee consisted of Messrs. Latham, Fish, Small, Lermont and Emerson, who, having attended to the duties assigned them, reported as follows—

Whole number of votes	107
ROBERT P. DUNLAP has	101
Scattering	5
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On motion of Mr. Clark, of the Senate, a committee consisting of one from each county, viz: Messrs. Clark of York, Buzzell of Cumberland, McCrate of Lincoln, Tobin of Oxford Allen of Hancock, Garris of Waldo, Doyle of Washington, Woodman of Kennebec, Prescott of Somerset, and Carpenter of Penobscot, was raised to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention.

On motion of Mr. Woodman of Buxton, it was voted that when this convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet on Wednesday evening next.

On motion of the same gentleman, a committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Smith, Chandler, Woodman, Jarvis and Butterfield, was raised to wait upon the Hon. ROBERT P. DUNLAP, and inform him that he has been again selected a candidate by a Convention of the Democratic members of the Legislature, for the office of Governor of this State for the ensuing political year.

On motion of Mr. Cilley of Thomaston, the Convention then adjourned to meet again on Wednesday evening next, March 4.

Wednesday Evening, March 4. The Convention met according to adjournment.

Mr. Woodman of Buxton, arose and informed the Convention that Mr. Pierce, the President, was necessarily absent, and would not be able to attend; whereupon Mr. Cilley of Thomaston was called to the chair.

Mr. Smith, from the committee appointed to wait upon the Governor, made the following Report, which was accepted.

The committee appointed to wait upon the Hon. Robert P. Dunlap, and inform him that he had been again selected by a Convention of the Democratic Republican members of the Legislature, as a candidate to be supported at the coming election, for the office of Chief Ma-

gistrate of the State of Maine, having attended to that duty would report—

That the Governor was pleased to say, that he felt duly sensible of the confidence reposed in him by his republican friends, in again designating him as a candidate to be supported for the office of Governor of this State—that an expression of confidence so plain and unequivocal, he could not consider himself at liberty to disregard; that he would therefore accept the nomination with which the convention had been pleased to honor him, and would yield himself once more to the disposal of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Clark, from the committee appointed to draft Resolutions expressive of the sense of this convention, reported the following:

The committee appointed to prepare and report resolutions expressive of this Convention, having attended to the duty assigned them, ask leave to report the following.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend the Hon. ROBERT P. DUNLAP for continued support, as the Republican candidate for Governor; and that we cordially respond to the public voice in awarding the Chief Magistracy, presented and sustained by the democracy of the State, our approval of the past and confidence in the future.

Resolved, That the administration of Andrew Jackson, based upon the republican principle of equal rights, has commanded the confidence and gratitude of the American people; that, in the policy of the disciple of Jefferson, we recognize the determination to guard the interests of the many against the aggrandizing spirit of the few, and to secure to the people the influence and power which the aristocracy have attempted to wrest from their hands.

Resolved, That Andrew Jackson is entitled to the gratitude of the Country for saving it from the despotic grasp of a monied power.

Resolved, That the President of the United States, in asking only what is right, and refusing to submit to what is wrong, in our intercourse with other Nations, adopts the only course consistent with the honor and welfare of the country.

Resolved, That we recognize the hand of Providence in shielding from the hand of the assassin, the Patriot who lives for his country.

Resolved, That we have cause of gratulation that our State is at length represented in the Senate of the United States, by Senators, who prefer to recognize the authority and enjoy the confidence of the people, rather than to receive the plaudits of an aristocracy of factious aspirants to power.

Resolved, That the signal triumph achieved in the late gubernatorial election, after a contest of unparalleled severity, was a tribute to the elevated character of the successful candidate, and a proud memorial of the firmness and the power of the Democracy of Maine; and that to secure and perpetuate the triumph of Democratic principles, personal pretences must be yielded, sectional feelings laid aside, and the choice of the majority becomes the candidate of the whole.

These resolutions were adopted unanimously.

On motion of Mr. Woodman of Buxton, it was voted, that the proceedings of this Convention be signed by the President and Secretaries, and published in the Eastern Argus, and other Democratic papers in this State. The convention adjourned without day.

JONAS CILLEY, President.

CHARLES COBB, Secretaries.

SAM'L CONY, Jr., Secretaries.

EDWARD KAVANAGH.

Our readers will rejoice with us in the announcement of the appointment of the Hon. Edward Kavanagh, from Lincoln District, in this State, to the honorable station of Charge d'Affairs to Portugal. There are few, if any, of our public men in Maine, who have more warm friends and fewer enemies than Mr. K. His mind, enriched by a fine education and liberalized by foreign travel—his manners of the most gentlemanly and unobtrusive kind, joined to private virtues of uncommon purity, has made him a great favorite, not only with his immediate constituents, but with all the people of Maine. His character and acquisitions fit him to an admirable degree, for his new station. He is, in every respect entirely equal to the place; and if the Administration at Washington, had sought to conciliate and gratify the Democracy of Maine by the bestowal of some public honor upon one of their members, the administration could not have been more fortunate in its selection.—Argus.

Washington, March 4, 1835.

Mr. Condon—Congress adjourned last night at a late hour with unexampled irregularity, leaving a great mass of business unfinished. It is believed that on all former occasions, resolutions are passed and sent to the President, that both Houses are ready to adjourn, and they await communication from him that he has nothing further to communicate. But last night both Houses sat till past midnight, and of course, strictly speaking, beyond the period for which they were chosen. Not having sent the usual resolution to the President, he waited in his room in the Capitol, till nearly quite 1 A. M., when supposing the session had legally closed—making all due and liberal allowances for difference in time—pieces—he retired home. Some time after that the Senate adjourned. No business had been transacted for an hour or two before in the House, though repeated attempts were made to do so. Many of the members, believing the time had arrived when their office had ceased, declined voting and prevented a quorum from voting, and of course any legislation.

The House had added to the appropriation bill for fortifications a conditional or contingent appropriation of three millions of dollars, to be used by the President for the navy and fortifications, if the French Government should attempt hostile measures before the next session of Congress. This passed the House by a large majority. The Senate rejected the amendment, and the House insisted and the Senate again rejected it, and a Committee of Conference was appointed, but, midnight arrived before it was finally acted on: so the fortification bill was lost.

You will have noticed the great unanimity with which Mr. Adams' resolution on the subject of our French relations, was adopted.—This, connected with his very able and patriotic speech, will give notice to France that the faith of treaties is not to be trifled with. The contingent appropriation of three millions was following up that division vote, but was lost by the course of the Senate.—Saco Democrat.

Gratiable Generosity. Hon. Retiel Williams has made a donation of Ten Thousand Dollars, for the purpose of establishing an Insane Hospital in this State.

It will be recollected that \$10,000 has also been given for the same purpose by Benjamin Brown, Esq.

These acts of liberality are most praiseworthy; and we trust will be met by others, so that the noble object contemplated may be fully accomplished.—[Argus.]

The Boston Transcript of Saturday evening says that letters were received in Boston on that day, from Washington, which state, "that the pacific aspect of our controversy with France is such that our Representative in Congress has not thought it worth while to present the petition from Boston, responding to the petition from Salem, praying for non-intercourse, as preferable to war or reprisals."

The bill appropriating \$5,000,000 to indemnify the sufferers by French Spoiliations prior to 1800, which passed the Senate some days since, has been stopped in the House—Mr. Cambreleng, from the Committee to whom the subject was referred, having reported that there was not time at the present session to bestow upon it that attention which its importance demanded, and requesting to be discharged from its further consideration.—Age.

From the Argus.

PUBLIC LANDS.

We perceive by the proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature, that a committee, to which was committed a communication of the Land Agent of that State, have made a report. They recommend that a committee be appointed to examine the Lands personally, the laws and practices relative thereto, and any information touching their true value, and report to the next Legislature.

It appears, by the information furnished by the Land Agent, that 47 townships—belonging to Massachusetts, held in severalty, now remain unsold,—amounting to 1,082,880 acres—and 20 townships owned jointly with Maine, amount to 460,800 acres.

The number of acres within the territory originally claimed by the British, is about six millions—but according to the boundary recommended by the Dutch King, it would be about 2,500,000, one half of which belongs to Massachusetts, the residue to Maine.

The number of acres of land sold within the past year, as reported by the Agent, are 16,054 7-8, for which he had received \$28,934.07.

The contents of the Boston Pearl of last week are as follows:

Review of Allen Prescott, a novel—To a Lady, a popular singer—Letters from the Midwest, to a Down-Easter—Epigram—Cowper's Life—Sonnet to Morning—Chapter from the "Sisters of St Ursula," a novel, in press—Miscellaneous of an Editor—Sonnet to Evening—A Journey in 14 days—To ——— Memory—Literary News—Forgotten Verses—Periodicals—Tremont Theatre—The Squirrel and Visitor—A Good Rule—Music, When Summer's Sunny Hours Adorn.

The majority of the United States Senate have incurred a heavy weight of responsibility by their recent acts. They have deprived the President of the power to send a Minister to England, at a time when it is highly important that our government should be represented at that Court, and by their factious course of proceeding have defeated the fortification bill, and obstinately refused to put the country in a state of defence in case of hostile preparations of the part of France.—[Age.]

The following notice of a college for Ladies recently established in Kentucky is taken from the Newark, N. J. Advertiser.

"The Kentucky Legislature has conferred upon Messrs. Van Doren's Institute for young ladies, in Lexington, the chartered rights and standing of a college, by the name of Van Doren's College for Young Ladies.

By the power granted to the Board of Trustees and the faculty of the College, we understand from the Daily Reporter, that a diploma and the honorary degree of M. P. L. (Mistress of Polite Literature) will be conferred upon those young ladies who complete the prescribed course of studies; and that the same honor may be conferred upon other distinguished ladies in our country; and that the honorary degree of M. M. (Mistress of Music) and M. I. (Mistress of Instruction) may be conferred by this College upon suitable candidates."

MARRIED.

In this town, by John Demerit, Esq. Mr. Jairus S. Cummings to Miss Menada B. Dunham both of this town.

By Joseph Turner, Esq. Mr. Caleb Cushman Jr. to Miss Eveline Bridgman both of Buckfield.

In Rumford, by P. C. Virgin, Esq. Mr. Josiah Keyes to Miss Rachel Barker; Mr. John Martin to Miss Arvilla Abbot; Mr. Thatcher Goddard to Miss Mary Ann Kimball, all of Rumford.

DIED.

In Lincoln, on the first inst. Benjamin, youngest son of Benjamin Hammond, Esq. of Lincoln, aged 14 months.

New Establishment!

GEORGE H. KENDALL—Portland.
HAS taken the Store No. 26, Middle Street, next above Shaw, Haystack Co. and nearly opposite the foot of Free Street, where he offers a new and extensive assortment of FOREIGN and DOMESTIC DRY GOODS; at Wholesale and Retail.
March 7, 1835. 2m131

To LEVI WHITMAN, Esq. one of the Justices of the Peace within and for the County of Oxford.

PURSUANT to a statute entitled "An Act directing the mode in which meetings of corporations may be called in certain cases," passed Feb. 24, 1835—You are hereby requested to issue your warrant to notify the members of the Maine Baptist Missionary Society to meet at the house of Rev. Nathaniel Chase in Buckfield on Wednesday the thirtieth day of May next; at one o'clock, P. M., to act on the following articles, to wit:—

First, To choose a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and such other officers as may be deemed necessary for the convenient management of the concerns of the corporation.

Second, To adopt a system of by-laws, and determine the manner of holding future meetings of the corporation.

Third, To do, and transmit any other business coming within the privileges granted by their act of incorporation, which may be brought before them.

JOHN TRIPP,
JOHN HAYNES,
ELIAS NELSON.

STATE OF MAINE.

Oxford, ss:
To JOHN HAYNES, of Norway, in the County of Oxford, Clerk—GREETING.

YOU are hereby required, in the name of the State of Maine, to notify and warn the members of the Maine Baptist Missionary Society to meet at the time and place, and for the purposes stated in the foregoing application, by causing an attested copy of said application, and this warrant to be published in the paper designated to print the laws of the State, and also in the Oxford Democrat, a newspaper printed within the County of Oxford three weeks successively, the last publication to be at least fourteen days before the time of said meeting.

Given under my hand and seal at Norway this 12th day of March in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-five.

LEVI WHITMAN, Justice of the Peace.
A true copy of the above application, and the warrant thereon.

Attest: JOHN HAYNES.

GEORGE H. KENDALL

No. 26, Middle Street, Portland,

OPPOSITE THE FOOT OF FREE STREET.

IS now opening 40 packages of English, French, and American DRY GOODS: among which are Broad Cloths, Cassimeres, Satinets, Vestings, Linens; Bishop and Long Lawns, Book and Swiss Muslins; Sacos, corded, figured and checked Cambrics, plain white do. Dimities, 4, 5 and 6-4 Net Laces, Insertions, Edgings, Quillings, Bombazines, Italian Cravats, Silk fancy do. Gheppes, Bandannas, Spitalfield and Pongee Hdk's, Ladies fancy do. Damask Napkins, 6, 7, 8-4 Damask Cloths, 5, 6, 7, 8-4 Plain Cloths, 6, 7, 8-4 figured do. double Damasks, Russian Diapers, Crash, French Cambrics, Spool Cottons, Bonnet Cambrics, col'd do. Italian Sewings, Cotton Fringes, Merino and Thibet Shawls, Silk and Sewing Silk do. Fichings, Drillings, Ginghams, Checks, bleached and brown Sheetings and Shirtings, rich London twill'd, Merino twill'd light London, Velvet (a new style), Shalloy and American Prints, Indigo Blue, and Mourning do. white, black & colored Cotton and Linen Thread, Buttons, Pink Tapes, Braids, Tadding, Canvas, Dowels, Silesias, brown and black Linen, &c. &c.

Gro de Swiss, Poux de Soix, twill'd Satin Levantines, black, blue black and colored.

GRO DE NAPES.
Synchaws, Saracotte, colored Florences, White Satins, and a great variety of figured Silks.

RIBBONS.
Satins, Lustres, Gauze, Cap and Bonnet Ribbons, of a rich and new style. All of which will be sold cheap for cash or approved credit.

March 9, 1835. 2m131

Morgan Ratler,
FROM VERMONT,

WILL stand at St. Morris Stable in Paris, and its vicinity, the ensuing season.
ASAHEL NEWTON.
Lyndon, March 9, 1835. 1831

JOEL C. VIRGIN,
PRACTITIONER AT LAW.

Bethel, Maine.
Reference: { PETER C. VIRGIN, Rumford.
{ STEPHEN CHASE, Fryeburg.
{ NICHOLAS EXETER, Portland.

Sheriff's Sale.

Oxford, ss:
TAKEN on Execution and will be sold at Public Vendue on Monday the thirtieth day of March next, at one o'clock P. M. at the Inn of Jeduthah Borkbank, Esq. in Bethel, in said county of Oxford, all the estate, right, title and interest which BAXTER LYON has by virtue of a bond or contract from Jeduthah Borkbank of said Bethel, for the conveyance of Real Estate situated in said Bethel, and being the same on which the said LYON now lives, with the buildings thereon.
HEZEKIAH HUTCHINS JR., Dep. Sh. of
February 28, 1835. 3w30

Farms For Sale.

On the Androscoggin River, two miles from Rumford Corner.

ONE farm of one hundred and twenty acres of Inter-estate with out-lands—or fifty acres of Intervale with out-lands and buildings, as may best suit the purchaser, may be had at a favorable price. Persons wishing to purchase, will call on
CUSHMAN & KIMBALL.
Rumford Point, February 29, 1835.

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